DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 214 207 CS 503 771

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TITLE Techniques for Testing the Effectiveness of Minority Portrayals in Multi-Cultural Children's Programming.
PUB DATE May 81
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association (Minneapolis, MN, May 21-25, 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS American Indians; Asian Americans; *Attitude Change; Black Students; Change Agents; Characterization; Elementary Education; *Identification (Psychology); Mexican Americans; Minority Groups; *Programing (Broadcast); *Racial Attitudes; *Racial Identification; *Television Research; White Students
IDENTIFIERS *Media Effects

ABSTRACT

Two studies were conducted to develop techniques for testing the effectiveness of minority portrayals in television programing. In the first study, 666 fourth and fifth grade children (Chicanos, blacks, Asians, American Indians, and Anglos) viewed a composite episode of the American Broadcasting Corporation's (ABC) Saturday morning "Superfriends" cartoon series, and answered questions about their opinions of the minority characters in the show to determine minority children's identification with minority characters. The usual pattern of identification by minority children with majority characters rather than with characters from their own group was nearly significant among Asians and highly significant among Chicano children, but black children identified with the black "Superfriends" character more than with the comparable Anglo character. In the second study, which focused on interracial attitude change associated with exposure to a Public Broadcasting System (PBS) multicultural series about Indochinese children, 472 children in grades three through six were pretested to determine their racial attitudes. The children then viewed the pilot episode of the series, and were posttested to determine an attitude change. The results indicated significant positive changes in racial attitudes toward Indochinese children. The results of both studies indicate that it is possible to create minority television characters capable of establishing identification with minority children and of positively affecting the interracial attitudes of other viewers. (HTH)

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TECHNIQUES FOR TESTING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MINORITY PORTRAYALS IN MULTI-CULTURAL CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMING

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CS503771

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Mass Communication Division, Minneapolis, 1981.

Techniques for testing the effectiveness of minority portrayals in multi-cultural children's programming

ABSTRACT

Developers of multi-racial television for children get little useful guidance from social science research about how to create effective minority portrayals. Studies of factors contributing to racial attitude change and to minority children's identification with minority characters have frequently yielded conflicting findings. Even the more reliable results are not very helpful. They imply that dramatic devices that programmers must utilize to create educational and entertaining programs do not work, without illuminating ways in which they might be made to work. The present research describes two techniques for testing the effectiveness of minority portrayals during program production. A technique for improving minority children's identification with minority role models was developed based on minority children's ratings of character attributes uniquely valued within each of four racial groups. A second study employed a technique for measuring changes in racial attitudes attributable to a single television episode and for identifying the portions of program content that contributed to the change.

Prior studies have yielded conflicting and null results concerning the effects of minority portrayals on children which offer little useful guidance to developers of multi-racial programming for children. For example, mere exposure to minority portrayals has been suggested as a means of improving the interracial attitudes of majority children (Katz, 1976; Zajonc, 1968). Research has found that, on the one hand, exposure to inserts from the Canadian version of "Sesame Street" featuring minority characters had a positive effect on the attitudes of English Canadian preschoolers (Gorn, Goldberg & Kanungo, 1976; Goldberg & Gorn, 1979). On the other hand, long-term exposure to "Sesame Street" in its entirety resulted in relatively weak effects on interracial attitudes among American viewers and even then only after two years--not one--of exposure (Bogatz & Ball, 1971). No effect on interracial attitudes was found for elementary school children who reported watching programs featuring black characters (Greenberg, 1972).

Developers of multi-racial programming also hope to present effective minority role models for minority children. While there is some evidence that minority viewers do identify with minority television characters more than do majority viewers (Dates, 1980), under most circumstances, neither minority nor majority children are likely to identify with (intimate) minority models (Comstock & Cobbey, 1979). Worse, the frequently used approach of posing, then resolving, interracial conflicts may

even have negative effects on identification with the characters involved (Silverman & Sprafkin, 1980).

Findings such as these offer little comfort to developers of multi-racial programming for children, who must make daily decisions about what kinds of program content are likely to produce identification and attitude change while still being educational and entertaining. The research indicates that mere exposure to minority portrayals sometimes does, but sometimes does not, change racial attitudes, while offering no clues as to the critical factors which make the difference between failure and success. If programmers wanted to follow the "mere exposure" philosophy to the hilt, they would perhaps be well advised to keep their cameras trained on solitary minority characters for minutes on end, for any hint of conflict with other characters might well have negative effects. Other components essential to the creation of entertaining or educational multi-racial messages pose unknown dangers. In fact, the sensible course would be to not use any minority characters at all, since the research shows that neither minority nor majority children seem to be willing to identify with them!

Clearly, there is a need to study the effectiveness of minority portrayals in complex multi-racial programs in a way that will help programmers develop more effective characters. The present research describes two techniques for testing minority portrayals for effectiveness within the program production cycle. The emphasis is on pragmatic methods which, in the absence of useful general principles for designing minority

roles, can provide program producers with the information they need to identify and correct problems with individual minority characters and thereby maximize positive effects on interracial attitudes and on minority children's identification with role models from their respective groups.

If the desire is to increase minority children's identification with television characters representing their own racial or ethnic groups, the problem becomes one of stressing group-related similarities which will overcome the inferior status cues that usually handicap minority models (Comstock & Cobbey, 1979). Hypothetically, this could be done by designing characters who exemplify personal qualities that are positively and uniquely valued in the group in question but not in other groups. The research literature on ethnic stereotyping provides a starting point. Assuming that positive stereotypes are valued within the group to which they apply (Levine & Campbell, 1972), then characters which embody positively valued stereotypes (e.g., "Indians are brave" or "Chicanos are loyal to their families") associated with minority group membership might foster identification. Stated differently, the perception that characters conform to positive aspects of stereotypes will be related to minority children's identification with them.

A problem with respect to promoting positive interracial attitudes is to detect which aspects of program content produce measurable effects on attitudes. As with any social science research, it is imperative that the measures used be both reliable and valid. More importantly, the measures must be sensitive

to nuances in the content of single shows and must be capable of identifying specific aspects of content that contribute to any overall effects. Only in this way can program developers discern what specific actions they should take to have a positive effect on interracial attitudes.

Two separate studies involving different samples of children are reported. One study evaluated minority children's identification with minority "guest" characters developed for the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) Saturday morning "Superfriends" series during the 1977-1978 season. The other focused on interracial attitude change associated with exposure to the pilot for "The New Americans," a multi-cultural PBS television series about Indochinese children intended to reduce racial isolation in the schools.[1]

Method

Samples

For the identification study, 738 fourth- and fifth-graders, including 167 Chicanos, 193 Blacks, 101 Asians, 49 American Indians, and 156 Anglos were recruited from schools where each group predominated. An approximately equal number of boys and girls participated. Children attended viewing sessions with other members of the same ethnic group. Those observed not to be from the ethnic group that predominated in each session were excluded from the analyses to arrive at the final (analyzed) total of 666.

For the racial attitude study, 472 children, recruited from

intact classrooms in six schools, received both the pretest and posttest. There were 232 boys and 234 girls; 141 third-graders, 106 fourth-graders, 206 fifth-graders, and 18 sixth-graders. Among them were 130 Anglos, 50 Blacks, 114 Latinos, and 14 from other ethnic backgrounds. A total of 160 Indochinese children were included: 90 Vietnamese, 9 Laotians, 16 Lao Hmong, 11 Cambodians, and 34 Chinese Vietnamese. All participating schools were from Orange and Los Angeles Counties in California.

Procedures

Data gathering was conducted in May-June, 1978, for the identification study. A typical viewing session began with children being randomly divided into two groups as they stepped off the bus at a major university campus. One group proceeded to a special auditorium equipped with a program analyzer,[2] while the other left on a tour of the campus. The two groups exchanged places at the conclusion of the first viewing session. Children were told that they would watch cartoons and then give their opinions about the characters they saw; at no time prior to viewing were they told that the purpose was to evaluate minority characters.

After briefly orienting children to the program analyzer, they were shown a composite half-hour of "Superfriends," projected on color monitors by a three-quarter-inch video-cassette player. The composite tape consisted of two segments featuring a minority "guest" character and two featuring the Atom, a new Anglo character. The presentation order was rotated between

sessions to control for order effects. All segments also featured well-known superheroes such as Batman and Wonder Woman. Short promotional and public service spots (but no commercials) were included. Children saw segments featuring guest minority characters from their own group. Black children saw Black Vulcan, Asian children saw Samurai, and American Indian children saw Apache Chief. There was no Hispanic character. Instead, Chicano children saw Rima, a brown-skinned female character. Rima had white hair and a vague accent; only one-quarter of the Chicano children identified her as one of their own.

Following viewing, children were led through a series of questions on the minority superhero and comparison Anglo characters focusing on dimensions of character preference and identification. All questions were shown on a rear projection screen while simultaneously read aloud by a moderator from their own ethnic group. Children dialed in the number of their answer at their respective audience response station. Stimulus slides of each character were projected alongside the questions shown on the screen. Group interviews were also conducted following viewing.

The pretest for the racial attitude study was conducted in April, 1980, in the classroom setting with paper-and-pencil instruments. The instruments consisted of measures of perceptions of Indochinese cultures, attitudes towards children from these cultures, and knowledge about the cultures. Measures of attitudes towards Black, Anglo, and Chicano children were included for comparison purposes. Each item was read aloud by an Anglo

female survey administrator as the children read the item at their seats. Bilingual aides were provided to help children who were still learning English. For the racial attitude measures, color 35mm stimulus slides featuring characters from the show were projected on a movie screen.

After an interval of two to four weeks, the posttest and other program-related questions were administered in four of the participating schools. The other two schools were invited to view the pilot at the same audience response auditorium that was used in the identification study. Children who viewed the program in the auditorium were first instructed to provide continuous ratings of appeal using the program analyzer. These children were told to turn a small rotary dial to indicate their liking for the program. They turned to 99 if they "liked" what they were seeing, and to 00 if they "didn't like" the program content; intermediate settings indicated moderate degrees of liking. All responses were electronically recorded at 20-second intervals. After viewing, children responded to the posttest and were asked to write "letters to the producer" identifying best- and least-liked parts of the program.

The stimulus tapes were played on three-quarter-inch format videocassette players and seen on television monitors. At the beginning of the tape children saw the first two minutes of two other shows (episodes from "Rebop" and "The Real People") for comparison purposes. This was followed by the pilot for "The New Americans" in its entirety. The pilot program exposed viewers to children from five different Indochinese cultures (Vietnamese,

Cambodian, Chinese, Laotian and Lao Hmong) and to real-life problems they encounter in this country that stem from cultural misunderstandings.

Measures

Character identification was assessed by the item "Do you want to do things like him/her?" Measured on a five-point scale ranging from "Yes, a lot" (5) to "No, not at all" (1). Additional dimensions known to predict children's identification with television characters (strong, good looking, active, good, smart, support from other characters) (Reeves & Greenberg, 1977) were assessed on similar five-point unidimensional scales.

Previous studies (Katz & Braly, 1933; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969; Ehrlich & Rinehart, 1965) of Black and Asian stereotypes were utilized to identify positively valued stereotyped traits. No corresponding research on Chicano and American Indian stereotypes was found. Instead, a panel of 20 adult judges was used to nominate positive stereotypes for these groups and the most frequently mentioned ones were incorporated in the present study. The stereotyped traits applying to each group were "musical," "happy," and "likes to have fun" for Blacks; "hard working," "good mannered," "smart," and "loyal to the family" for Asians; "loyal to the family," "religious," "hard working," and "likes children" for Chicanos; and "proud," "brave," and "close to nature" for American Indians. Responses were scaled from "Yes, a lot" (5) to "No, not at all" (1).

A modified version of the Projective Prejudice Test (Katz &

Zalk, 1976) was adapted as one of the attitude measures. This test asks children to pick which one of two pictured children from different races a story is about (e.g., "These two girls are playing checkers. Each has a piece left. Which one will win?"). For the purpose of the present study, children were shown a pair of slides, one a close-up of an Anglo boy and one of a Vietnamese boy. The pictures were labeled verbally according to the race of the stimulus person, that is, "Vietnamese American Boy" or "White American Boy," since the racial identities of the Indochinese children would be made known in the series and it was felt that prejudice might increase as a result of the labeling process. The pictures were changed to the same Anglo boy and a Black boy and then a second choice was made. For female items, there were pictures of an Anglo girl, a Black girl, and a Cambodian girl. All children in the slides appeared in the program. The Cambodian and Vietnamese prejudice scales each had five items. The Black prejudice scale had ten.

The other attitude measure was a social distance scale (Gough, Harris, Martin, & Edmonds, 1950), consisting of a series of six statements such as "Would you like him/her to visit this country?" and "Would you like to have him/her as your good friend?" A slide of a boy or a girl (Vietnamese boy, Cambodian girl, Black boy or girl, Chicano boy or girl) was projected on a screen while children responded to the statements on a five-point scale ranging from "Yes, very much" (5) to "No, not at all" (1). Once again, the scale was adapted to the current study by using slides of children from the series itself. Some items deemed

inappropriate for the age group (e.g., "I would like to marry him when I grow up") were eliminated, while items touching on concerns about Indochinese children's rejection by their peers in school that were treated in the program (e.g., "I would like to play with him at recess") were added.

Measures of inter-group similarity and knowledge of Indochinese peoples were also administered. The similarity measures asked children to make paired comparisons of Blacks, Laotians, Cambodians, and Chicanos using seven-point similarity scales, ranging from "Very much alike" (7) to "Not at all alike" (1). Knowledge questions related to the geography and cultures of Indochina, employing ten, four-choice, multiple choice items (e.g., "What do Vietnamese people do during Tet?").

Reliability and Validity Data

Since character attribute items of the kind used in the character identification study had been used in previously published studies, no special efforts were made to establish their reliability or validity here (LaRose & Hanneman, 1978). The alpha coefficients for all scales used in "The New Americans" study tended to be quite high, each one exceeding the minimum alpha value of .6 usually deemed acceptable. Moreover, the alpha coefficients tended to be stable within subsets of the sample classified by sex and race. This was especially true for the social distance measures whose alpha coefficients were all near .9 among all subsamples. Most posttest attitude scales correlated highly with their own pretest, ranging from a test-retest

(Pearson) r of .54 for Vietnamese Projective Prejudice to .69 for social distance toward Blacks.

Intercorrelations among the scales suggest a pattern of validity. Measures of similar constructs (e.g., projective prejudice and social distance toward Vietnamese) correlated more highly with each other (r = .31) than with measures of other constructs (e.g., knowledge correlated r = .04 with prejudice and r = .14 with social distance toward Vietnamese) indicating both convergent and discriminant validity. The correlation between the two types of racial attitude measures was not as high as one would like but is consistent with similar findings in previous studies with children (Katz, 1976). There were rather high correlations among social distance measures for different groups (e.g., r = .44 between social distance towards Blacks and towards Cambodians) which is suggestive of an underlying structure of racial attitudes that cut across ethnic groups. (A more detailed discussion of reliability and validity is reported elsewhere [LaRose, 1980].)

Results

Select results from the identification study are shown in Table 1. The usually observed pattern of Black children identifying more with Anglo characters than with Black characters was not observed in this case. Black children indicated significantly greater identification with the Black "Superfriend" than with a comparable Anglo character (t = 2.43, $p < .05$).[3] They also indicated that they would like to imitate the Black charac-

ter more than two old favorites, Batman and Wonder Woman (results reported elsewhere [LaRose & Hanneman, 1978]). The same patterns tended to hold for American Indian children, although the differences were not significant, perhaps owing to the smaller sample size. The usual pattern of minority children identifying more with majority characters than with characters from their own group was very nearly significant among Asian (t = 1.97, p = .052) and highly significant among Chicano children (t = 6.35, $p < .001$). However, it must be noted that in neither of the latter two cases did the race of the character exactly match the race of the audience. As already mentioned, the character shown to Chicano children was not widely perceived to be Chicano herself. The Japanese character was correctly identified as Japanese by the children. However, many of the Asian children included in the sample were themselves Chinese rather than Japanese.

The patterns of correlations shown in Table 1 indicate considerable support for the hypothesis that perceptions of positively valued ethnic stereotypes are positively related to minority children's identification with TV characters from their respective groups. A total of 15 traits were identified as positive stereotypes and each was applied to two characters, one Anglo and one minority, within each ethnic group. In 15 of these 30 cases, a significant correlation was found between identification with the character and an attribute representing a positive stereotype for the ethnic group whose children did the rating. Only one correlation, significant at the .05 level, would be

expected by chance. The magnitudes of these relationships were in some cases quite large, rivaling the size of the correlations observed between identification and non-race-specific attributes like good looks, activity, strength, and overall "goodness."

Other relationships may have been limited by ceiling effects on the attribute variables. For example, nearly all Indian children said that both the Anglo and the Indian character were proud and brave. In these instances, the correlations may have been attenuated by the narrow range of the attribute variable. The predicted relationships were found in 15 out of 20 places they were predicted, and where a possible ceiling effect did not exist.

Significant correlations were also observed between identification and various ethnic attributes that were not initially identified with a particular group. For example, the perception that a character was hard-working and liked children was highly related to identification among Indian children. Perceptions that a character liked to have fun and was close to nature were related to identification among Asian children. Among Black children, intelligence was related to identification. For Chicano children, pride, bravery, happiness, intelligence, and good manners were all moderately correlated to identification, even though these characteristics were not identified, a priori, as positive stereotypes for Chicanos. Finally, the degree of identification with minority characters was moderately correlated to overall liking for the character and to the desire to watch the character in future episodes.

Table 2 shows that there were significant changes in

attitudes towards Indochinese children in the racial attitude study and that most of these were in the positive direction. On the whole, children were less prejudiced toward a Vietnamese boy after seeing him in "The New Americans" ($t = 2.29$, $p < .05$). The sample as a whole also wanted to be closer to (i.e., have less social distance from) the Vietnamese character after viewing the show, although this result only approached significance ($t = 1.66$, $p < .098$). It is noteworthy that among Anglos, the group that showed the most negative initial attitudes towards Vietnamese overall (holding them in less regard than either Blacks or Chicanos), there was a significant decrease in prejudice following viewing ($t = 2.23$, $p < .05$). The same was true for Black children who initially held the Vietnamese in relatively high esteem ($t = 2.16$, $p < .05$). Two negative results must also be noted. Children from other Indochinese ("Other IC") cultures (i.e., Laotians, Cambodians, Hmong, Chinese Vietnamese) wanted more distance between themselves and the Vietnamese boy after viewing ($t = 3.15$, $p < .05$). The converse was true with respect to the Cambodian female character. Generally, there were no significant changes in attitudes towards her. The exceptions were Vietnamese (V.N.) children who stated that they did not want her as close to themselves after viewing as before viewing ($T = 2.34$, $p < .05$).

In Table 3, changes in racial attitudes towards ethnic groups other than Indochinese are shown. Prejudice towards Blacks decreased significantly ($t = 2.79$, $p < .05$) after viewing for the entire sample and especially among Anglos ($t = 2.65$, $p < .05$) and Blacks ($t = 2.06$, $p < .05$) themselves. This conclu-

sion must be accepted with great caution since there was also a nonsignificant tendency for all ethnic groups to want more social distance between themselves and Blacks following viewing. The results are therefore not consistent.

Among many groups there was a tendency to increase social distance towards Chicanos after viewing, a tendency which reached statistical significance for the overall sample ($t = 2.05$, $p < .05$). The sex of the Black and Chicano children used in the social distance measure was counterbalanced between schools. Further analyses reported elsewhere (LaRose, 1980) revealed that those schools in which a Chicano girl served as the stimulus showed strong negative changes in attitudes (i.e., in the direction of wanting more social distance from Chicanos).

Letters to the producer in which children volunteered the best and least liked aspects of the program together with program analyzer results (see Figure 1) offer some clues as to which aspects of program content were responsible for these effects. Many children said they did not like the very beginning of a long segment in the middle of the show during which an Anglo teacher unintentionally insulted a Vietnamese boy. However, they wrote that they liked the resolution of the conflict in which the boy appeared in traditional dress and had a chance to explain his customs to his teacher. Correspondingly, we see in Figure 1 that liking for the show was rather low at the outset of that segment but built steadily to the point of becoming the segment most liked by both White and Vietnamese viewers. Similarly, Figure 1 indicates that liking for the show was low in a later

segment in which both Cambodian and Chicano girls appeared. The relative drop was much higher for White children than for Vietnamese, possibly reflecting the finding (in Table 3) that attitudes towards Chicanos dropped among White children, and this decrease was larger (though in neither case statistically significant) than among Vietnamese children. The letters to the producer revealed a preponderance of negative comments about the segment as well, with many children mentioning that they did not like to see girls "fighting." Liking for the show was especially low at the start of the segment, a sequence in which the two girls are shown seated back-to-back, pointedly not talking to each other.

The fact that prejudice toward Blacks decreased is perplexing, since the Black children were seen only for a fleeting moment in the segment about the Vietnamese boy and his teacher. A moderate (r = .33) correlation was found between the two measures, so that it may be that lessening prejudice toward one group may lessen prejudice toward the other.

The teachers in one school voiced strenuous objections to the racial attitude measures on the ground that the measures themselves may have created prejudice. They felt obliged to try to correct the situation by presenting special lessons to their children. Under these circumstances, it was decided to exclude children from that school from the analysis.

Discussion

The present results show that it is possible to create minority television characters that will overcome the usual

tendency of minority children to identify more with Anglo characters than with models from their own groups. This result can be promoted by creating minority portrayals who embody characteristics that are valued by members of the minority group involved. However, it is necessary to match the minority character very carefully with the minority target audience. A single physical trait (e.g., brown skin among Chicano children) is not enough to induce identification if other characteristics (e.g., hair color or accent) do not match. Similarity across a number of cultural and physical characteristics may not be enough, as with creating a Japanese character in the hopes that all Asian children will identify with that character. Even relatively minor differences as seen by majority group members such as between various American Indian tribes may affect identification. For example, we found during interviews that some American Indian children, who were primarily Navajo and Hopi, desired qualities more in line with the cultures of their tribes than with the Apache tribe. Clearly, program developers need to work with a wide range of race-specific traits which they can incorporate in minority portrayals to promote identification among minority viewers.

To identify the universe of such traits a better starting point than the one used in this study is needed. Positively valued ethnic stereotypes evidently do not include all of the attributes valued by minority groups. The starting point should be a longer list of attributes that are highly valued by individual minority group members. These attributes differ conceptually from stereotypes in that they are not beliefs about the charac-

istic behavior of a group, but rather the way the group wants to act, that is, the ideal its members hold for it.

Further, since the specific traits which predicted identification often were found to vary from character to character, it is important to test each character on a number of traits within the context of the particular program, rather than search for a few dominant traits that might be applicable across all content. Such a search ultimately would not be productive as attested by related research on person perception (Tedeschi & Linskold, 1976). It was found that virtually any trait could be made dominant, that is, be made the one around which the overall impression is organized, by merely emphasizing it in a verbal description employing other traits which are correlated with each other but not with the "dominant" one.

Once the traits that are related to identification in a particular program context are identified, the producer can modify minority portrayals as needed through changes in characterization or plot. For example, the developers of "Superfriends" might increase identification with the Japanese character among Japanese children by emphasizing the religiosity and good manners of the character. The former might be done by staging an adventure in a Shinto shrine. To accomplish the latter, they might have the character use more formal greetings with other characters. On the other hand, since the character is already perceived as being highly hard-working and intelligent, to the point of attenuating correlations with identification, no improvement is needed on those dimensions.

The racial attitude study belies the notion that mere exposure to minority portrayals will invariably have a positive effect on interracial attitudes. "The New Americans" pilot was designed as a vehicle for exposing children to Indochinese people and cultures. While it had some measurable positive effects on interracial attitudes, it also had some (unintended) negative ones as well. Through a combination of open-ended responses and program analyzer results, those parts of the program which contributed to both kinds of effects were identified and examined. These analyses indicated that a dramatic device routinely used in multi-racial programming, namely, posing and then resolving an interracial conflict, may have backfired in one instance. However, in another instance--when conflict between a Vietnamese boy and his Anglo teacher was successfully resolved--the strategy appears to have been successful.

As for identification with minority characters, strategies for promoting racial attitude change must and can be explored within the context of each individual program rather than be guided by general principles which attempt to speak for all programs at all times. We cannot stress the importance of this too strongly. It is quite possible that even the best-intentioned and well-thought-out minority portrayals may actually have negative effects on interracial attitudes. If so, it is essential that those interested in improving race relations through prosocial programming test the effects of each minority portrayal they create.

The methods used here offer a relatively simple and sensi-

tive means of testing for interracial attitude change. Program developers need only incorporate pictorial stimuli and situations from their show in the context of the measures. Through the use of a program analyzer along with carefully structured open-ended questions, it is possible to identify the source of positive and negative effects on attitudes. Over time, program developers can discern what causes attitude change and what does not within the context of their series, and correct their creations accordingly. In the case of "The New Americans," a commitment was made to tone down the level of interracial conflict slightly and to make minor editing changes that would provide characters involved in conflicts with more acceptable justifications for their actions. However, this does not mean that all conflict in all series is to be avoided. Some characters and some situations may carry the conflict and keep it from having a negative effect on attitudes or identification. Again, this is a matter to be tested in the context of each individual series.

Although we believe we have succeeded in creating some exceptionally reliable, valid, and sensitive measurement procedures for these purposes, much additional research is needed. The Projective Prejudice Test, as adapted in this study, was objectionable to some teachers who thought that the practice of presenting pictures of children from different racial groups side-by-side may have acted to create prejudice. In the present era of racial conflict in the schools, more discrete measurement procedures are needed. Further development of program analyzer techniques is also warranted. In the present study, we could not

be sure whether it was the character or the situation, or one of the characters but not the other, which was responsible for the overall degree of liking toward the program at any given moment. Using modern digital program analyzers, it is possible to have randomly selected subgroups of children rate discrete components of the show and to pinpoint attitudinal influences within a program.

Thus, it is possible to create minority portrayals capable of establishing identification with minority children and of positively affecting the interracial attitudes of other viewers. However, the task of doing so in the real world of television programming, as opposed to the social science laboratory, presents programmers with a major challenge. It is necessary to test for identification and attitude change in each individual series and to carefully engineer minority portrayals to achieve their full potential within each one. It is hoped that the present research will serve as a preliminary guide for doing so.

TABLE 1

CORRELATES OF MINORITY CHILDREN'S IDENTIFICATION WITH MINORITY AND MAJORITY CHARACTERS

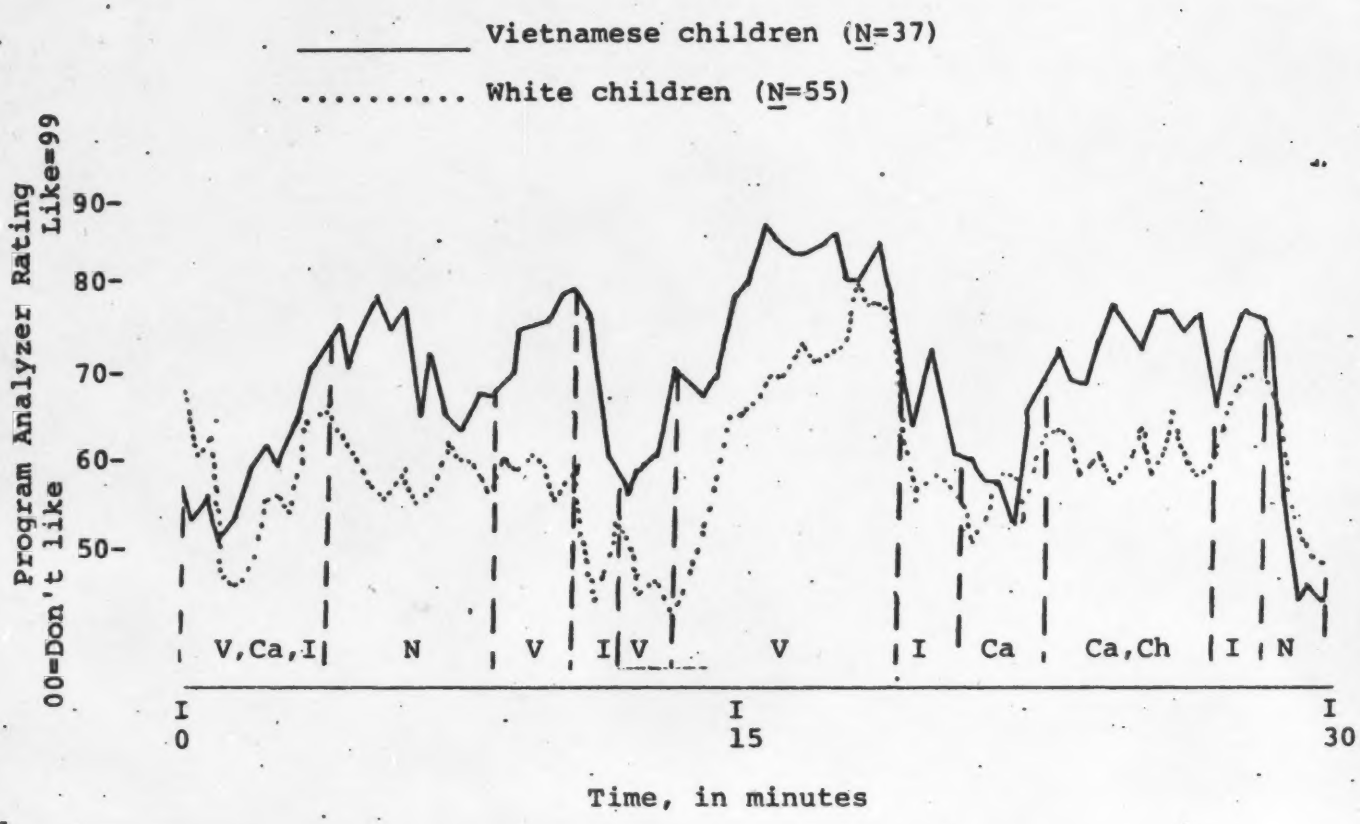
		Asian Children(A) (N=101)		Black Children(B) (N=193)		Chicano Children(C) (N=167)		American Indian Children(I) (N=49)	
Attribute	Stereo-Type	Anglo Char.	Asian Char.	Anglo Char.	Black Char.	Anglo Char.	Chicano Char.	Anglo Char.	Indian Char.
Liking		.41**	.44**	.33**	.39**	.14*	.51**	.38*	.14
Good looking		.25*	.38**	.30**	.30**	.46**	.38**	.30*	-.17
Strong		.02	.21*	.14*	-.00	.35**	.39**	.15	.28*
Funny		.20*	-.06	-.04	-.05	.11	-.02	.07	-.14
Good		.27*	.18*	.14*	.12	.27**	.26*	-.20	
Musical	B	.02	-.00	-.01	.14*	.09	.04	.36*	-.07
Religious	C,A	.04	.33**	-.18*	-.04	.21*	.08	.40*	.16
Proud	I	.20*	.02	-.08	.09	.14	.29**	.14	.14
Brave	I	.16	.17*	.07	.19*	.18*	.24**	-.05	.22
Happy	B	.32**	.10	.00	.09	.29**	.20*	.30*	-.04
Smart	A	.13	.11	.02	.32**	.31**	.24**	.21	.29*
Hardworking	A,C	.21*	.08	.02	.18*	.34**	.30**	.54**	.19
Likes fun	B	.31**	.28*	.20*	.06	.26**	.21*	.36*	.20
Close to Nature	I	.33**	.10	-.19*	.19*	.17*	.06	.30*	.03
Likes Children	C	.15	.26*	.06	.02	.22*	.20*	.43**	.26*
Good manners	A	.20	.23	-.08	-.01	.29**	.36**	.19	.26*
Loyal to family	C,A	.24*	.08	.00	.05	.22*	.31**	.37*	.34*
Active		.12	.34**	.16*	.19*	.32*	.26**	.28*	-.00
Others like		.08	.04	.14*	.16*	.25**	.35**	.23	-.19
Want to watch		.41**	.40**	.24**	.38**	.44**	.39**	.08	.23
Mean		3.76+	3.45	3.66	3.92+	3.93+	2.96	3.47	3.71
Standard error		.14	.15	.11	.11	.12	.14	.25	.25

25 26

** p < .01 * p < .05 +denotes larger mean, p < .05, correlated means t-test

FIGURE 1

PROGRAM ANALYZER RESULTS



Type of child appearing in segment

V=Vietnamese
Ca=Cambodian
I=Other Indochinese
Ch=Chicano

TABLE 3

PRE-POST CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK AND CHICANO CHILDREN BY ETHNICITY

		Total	Ethnic Group				
			Anglo	Black	Latino	V.N.	Other IC
		N=334	N=108	N=39	N=79	N=63	N=44
Prejudice toward Blacks[1] - Pre	$\bar{X}$ =	14.71	14.63	17.32	14.61	13.87	13.93
	SD =	2.42	2.39	1.38	2.13	2.37	2.18
Prejudice toward Blacks[1] - Post	$\bar{X}$ =	15.04	15.12	17.89	14.95	14.12	13.82
	SD =	2.59	2.44	1.73	2.55	2.37	2.18
Pre-Post Change[3]		2.79*	2.05*	2.06*	1.40	.93	-.46
Social Distance toward Blacks[2] - Pre	$\bar{X}$ =	18.44	16.70	27.15	19.68	17.12	13.29
	SD =	7.85	7.29	5.09	7.63	6.99	6.01
Social Distance toward Blacks[2] - Post	$\bar{X}$ =	17.87	16.14	26.31	19.26	16.78	12.68
	SD =	7.99	8.02	6.85	7.26	6.46	5.30
Pre-Post Change[3]		-1.65	-.93	-1.23	-.48	-.47	-.74
Social Distance toward Chicanos[2] - Pre	$\bar{X}$ =	17.84	17.71	13.87	19.63	19.45	16.38
	SD =	7.89	8.50	6.92	7.88	6.77	7.15
Social Distance toward Chicanos[2] - Post	$\bar{X}$ =	17.03	16.58	15.18	18.34	18.54	14.22
	SD =	8.33	8.65	8.60	8.77	7.03	7.20
Pre-Post Change[3]		-2.08*	-1.61	1.01	-1.72	-1.20	-1.64

[1] Items scored so that a response favoring the Black child was scored as 2, a response favoring the White child was scored as 1 for each of 10 items.

[2] Items scored so that "yes, very much" was scored as 5, "no, not at all" as 1 for each of 6 items. Thus the higher the score, the more favorable the response. Male and female stimuli were rotated between schools.

[3] t - score, correlated means

*$p < .05$, one-tailed

NOTES

[1]This research was supported in part by a grant from ABC Television. It was also supported by a research contract from KCET, Channel 28, in Los Angeles through a grant from the U.S. Office of Education under the Emergency School Aid Act.

[2]The program analyzer at the Annenberg School of Communications on the University of Southern California campus was custom designed by Instructional Industries, Incorporated of Albany, New York. The system consists of 100 individual response stations, each equipped with two rotary dials. Respondents use the system by dialing in answers to questions with their individual response stations. One dial allows them to enter numbers between 0 and 9 and the other numbers between 00 and 99. The system is operated under computer control and all results are electronically recorded on floppy disc for subsequent analysis. In the identification study, the 0 to 9 dial was used to enter responses to close-ended questions. In the racial attitude study, the respondents continuously rated the program on the 00 to 99 scale as they watched and had their responses recorded automatically every 20 seconds.

[3]Correlated means *t* tests.

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